

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

/062 W

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R 281540Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8569

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 0868

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PE

SUBJECT: FERNANDEZ MALDONADO AND THE CIVILIANS

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH FERNANDEZ MALDONADO IS STILL LIKELY TO BE SWORN IN AS PRIME MINISTER FEBRUARY 1, OPPOSITION TO HIM REMAINS AND THERE HAS BEEN SOME DISCUSSION OF SEPARATING THE PREMIERSHIP FROM THE WAR MINISTRY IN ORDER TO REDUCE FERNANDEZ MALDONADO'S INFLUENCE. MODERATES ARE SAID TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE LINK BETWEEN FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, LEFTIST GENERAL RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA (RET), AND THE FRONT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION WHICH IS THE LATEST GOP EFFORT TO CREATE ITS OWN CIVILIAN POLITICAL MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY

1. WEEKEND ARTICLES IN GOP PAPER LA CRONICA ASSERTING THAT GENERAL FERNANDEZ MALDONADO WILL BECOME PRIME MINISTER FEBRUARY 1 HAVE FAILED TO DISPEL RUMORS THAT HIS CANDIDACY IS STILL IN QUESTION. THE LA CRONICA ARTICLES, PERHAPS INADVERTENTLY, DEALT WITH FERNANDEZ MALDONADO'S DUTIES AS PRIME MINISTER WITH NO MENTION THAT HE WILL ALSO HOLD THE KEY WAR MINISTRY PORTFOLIO. ONE WELL-INFORMED SOURCE TOLD EMBASSY THAT MILITARY LEADERS HAVE BEEN DEBATING POSSIBLE DIVISION OF THE PRIME MINISTER/ WAR MINISTER FUNCTIONS (THIS WOULD REQUIRE MODIFICATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STATUTES) AS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN FACTIONS SUPPORTING AND OPPOSING FERNANDEZ MALDONADO. WAR MINISTRY COULD THEN GO TO "MODERATE" GENERAL LUIS LA VERA WHO IS NOW SLATED TO REPLACE

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FERNANDEZ MALDONADO AS AMRY CHIF OF STAFF, AND FERNANDEZ

MALDONADO COULD HOLD PREMIERSHIP. THIS SOLUTION MIGHT SATISFY THOSE GENERALS WARY OF FERNANDEZ MALDONADO'S LEFTIST CONNESTIONS AND CONSIDERABLE DAMAGOGIC ABILITY.

2. MODERATES ARE ALSO CONCERNED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CIVILIAN FRONT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION (FDRP). ORGANIZATIONAL IMPETUS FOR THIS LATEST GOP EFFORT TO GENERATE ITS OWN POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS CENTERED IN THE PEASANT CONFEDERATION (CNA) WHICH ITSELF WAS SET UP BY CIVILIAN ADVISORS UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF RETIRED GENERAL RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA (WHOM MODERATES CONSIDER TO BE UNDER LEFTIST INFLUENCE). FERNANDEZ MALDONADO IS PURPORTEDLY PRESSING FOR DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA IN THE FDRP, AND THIS HAS AROUSED CONCERN OF MILITARY LEADERS WHO FEAR RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA WOULD OPEN GOP POLITICAL MOVEMENT TO COMMUNIST INFILTRATION. INDEED, INTERIM LEADERS OF THE FDRP HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY COULD COOPERATE WITH COMMUNIST GROUPS; AT THE SAME TIME THEY HAVE REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE REFORMIST APRA PARTY. IF FERNANDEZ MALDONADO DOES BECOME PRIME MINISTER ON FEBRUARY 1 AS SCHEDULED, AND THE BETTING REMAINS THAT HE WILL, RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA WILL PROBABLY HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION. AN AIDE TO FERNANDEZ MALDONADO RECENTLY TOLD EMBOFF THAT RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA HAS ALREADY BEEN NAMED POLITICAL ADVISOR TO THE FDRP, AND NEITHER THAT NOR FERNANDEZ MALDONADO'S OWN CANDIDACY IS NOW IN DISPUTE.

3. UNCERTAINTY OVER POLITICAL TENDENCIES OF THE FDRP MAY, HOWEVER, RETARD ITS DEVELOPMENT. ORGANIZING HAD BEEN PROCEEDING RAPIDLY, BUT CHARGES OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION CAUSED FDRP LIMA AFFILIATE TO SELF-DESTRUCT PENDING REORGANIZATION. A MASS RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PLANNED FOR FEBRUARY 5 ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1975 RIOTS. GOP SOURCES NOW SAY RALLY MAY BE CALLED OFF, ALTHOUGH OCCASION WILL STILL BE MARKED BY TELEVISED SPEECH OF PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ. SPEECH MIGHT BE USED TO TRY TO SATISFY SOME GRIEVANCES OF LABOR SECTOR (SUCH AS ANNOUNCING CHANGES IN LABOR MINISTRY AND ABROGATION OF CERTAIN UNPOPULAR LABOR LAWS). MORALES BERMUDEZ COULD ALSO DEFEND FORMER PRESIDENT VELASCO FROM CURRENT CRITICISM WHICH GOP MAY FEAR WILL SILL OVER TO INCLUDE PRESENT REGIME. PRESIDENT ALSO EXPECTED TO DISCUSS POLITICAL

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PROGRAMS OF THE REVOLUTION'S "SECOND PHASE", INCLUDING PROPOSED TURN-OVER OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT TO CIVILIANS (IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME AND WITHM OUT RECOURSE TO ELECTIONS).

4. RELATIONS WITH IMPORTANT CIVILIAN POLITICAL GROUPS WILL CONTINUE TO BE PROBLEMATICAL UNDER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO. PRIME MINISTER VARGAS PRIETO ENGAGED IN A LIMITED DIALOGUE WITH THE APRA PARTY BUT FERNANDEZ MALDONADO IS EXPECTED TO CALL A

HALT TO THIS. HE HAS REPEATEDLY TERMED APRA "ENEMY NUMBER ONE" OF THE REVOLUTION. REJECTION OF ANY DIALOGUE WITH APRA WILL PROBABLY MEAN CONTINUED ISOLATION OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT FROM IMPORTANT CIVILIAN GROUPS, AND POSSIBLY AN EVEN GREATER DEPENDENCE ON LEFT WING ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRIME MINISTER, PRESS COMMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, OPPOSITION PARTIES, PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** powellba  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION ARA  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 3  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** powellba  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 JUL 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <21 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <28 OCT 2004 by powellba>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FERNANDEZ MALDONADO AND THE CIVILIANS SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH FERNANDEZ MALDONADO IS STILL LIKELY TO BE SWORN IN  
**TAGS:** PINT, PE, (FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, JORGE)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006